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THE JEWISH VOTE
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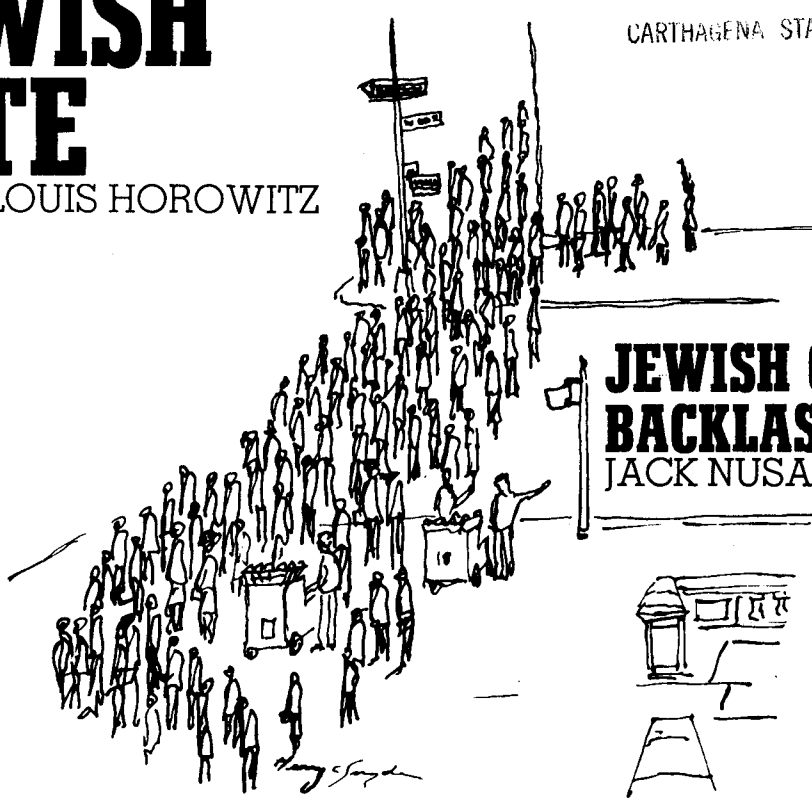

JEWISH CONSERVATIVE BACKLASH?
JACK NUSAN PORTER

THE AMERICAN RESIGNATION—II
PETER STEINFELS

CATHOLIC BLOODBATH IN VIETNAM?
D. GARETH PORTER

REVIEWS: WILLIAM LANOUETT
ENGLISH TOWN **JOHN C. CORT** on
DAVID L. WARREN on JESUS PEOP
THE GERMANS **CORRESPONDEN**

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NEWS & VIEWS

Priests in Politics

Further evidence cropped up at the recent "God's Day" rally at the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, D.C., that the priests-in-politics antipathies of the Catholic Establishment subdivide as ever into 'what priests' and 'whose politics.'

At a full-blown 90-minute Mass at the National Shrine, Abbot Edmund F. Caffrey of Belmont Abbey, N.C., took off on the Berrigans and on George McGovern.

Re the Berrigans: "Our country cannot afford extremists on the right or left —self-appointed minutemen or vigilantes or Berrigan brigands—those who interfere with legitimate governmental function and who burn draft records and cause disorder in the name of peace."

Re McGovern: "We cannot call for a retreat from our international obligations demanded by the law of charity and still call ourselves Christian." (The abbot also denounced McGovern's "Come Home, America" slogan as "a cry that is narrowly isolationist, chauvinistic, offends international justice and is harmful to the international common good.")

Present at the Mass at which this "sermon" was preached was Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle, one of the sponsors of the rally, and presumably one of the protectors of the religious character of the National Shrine.

Afterwards, the cardinal was asked by newsmen whether he agreed with the abbot's comments. "If the abbot said it," he answered, "I agree."

Guerrillas Supported

For the first time in the history of Nicaragua, a bishop was invited to give the inaugural lecture at the reopening of the autonomous University of Nicaragua.

The invitee — Archbishop Olando of Managua, the capital — dropped a bombshell. He chose to discuss violence, and in the context of Nicaragua's domestic situation.

"It is easy to condemn violence," said Archbishop Olando, "but it is necessary to know how to recognize it in all its dimensions and to condemn it on all its terrains. The initiative for violence does not generally come from the poor and oppressed. It comes much more from those who exercise power and dispose of force in order to serve a firmly established order. The revolution appears inevitable and even necessary for the liberation of the masses."

The archbishop proceeded to justify guerrilla activity with quotations from the last pastoral of the Nicaraguan hierarchy:

"The revolutionary ferment, guerrilla activity . . . is only the incoercible cry of a people who are taking cognizance of their situation and seek to break the structures which imprison them. These aspirations can be repressed by force but the movement is under way and there are already many fissures in the old systems. Sincere men, convinced Christians, should realize that their duty is to cooperate with this current of change and not try to impede it."

The prelate's talk was hailed by progressives for its courageousness, and gave new hope to those who fear a retrenchment on the right among Latin American hierarchies.

A New Openness?

The recent survey of the New York archdiocese's office of pastoral research, revealing a 23-percent decline in Sunday Mass attendance between 1965 and 1970, confirms the uneducated guesses of anyone who's troubled to look around lately in church at broadening spaces in the pews.

It also lends some confirmation to the findings last winter of a Gallup Poll, which reported a decline since 1964 in Catholics who worshipped regularly of from 71 to 57 percent.

But the real significance of the New York survey may be in the willingness of the institutional church to take a hard look at itself and share its news, happy or otherwise, with the public.

The New York archdiocese has taken some interesting steps in this regard. Its financial report of last April setting its net worth at $643-million was a notable bit of candor, however much the report might have been footnoted. It was the kind of openness which, if adopted years ago, would have spared the institution a lot of credibility and respect.

The Mass-attendance survey helps in the same way the financial statement did. Everyone knows there's a worship problem in American Catholicism, and to seek to paper it over—as many dioceses are doing—is to kid no one (except maybe yourself) and to solve nothing.

If the church is a community, the people have a right to know the church's problems. By the same token, if the problems of this community are to be met, they must be faced, honestly and in as communal and public a way as possible.

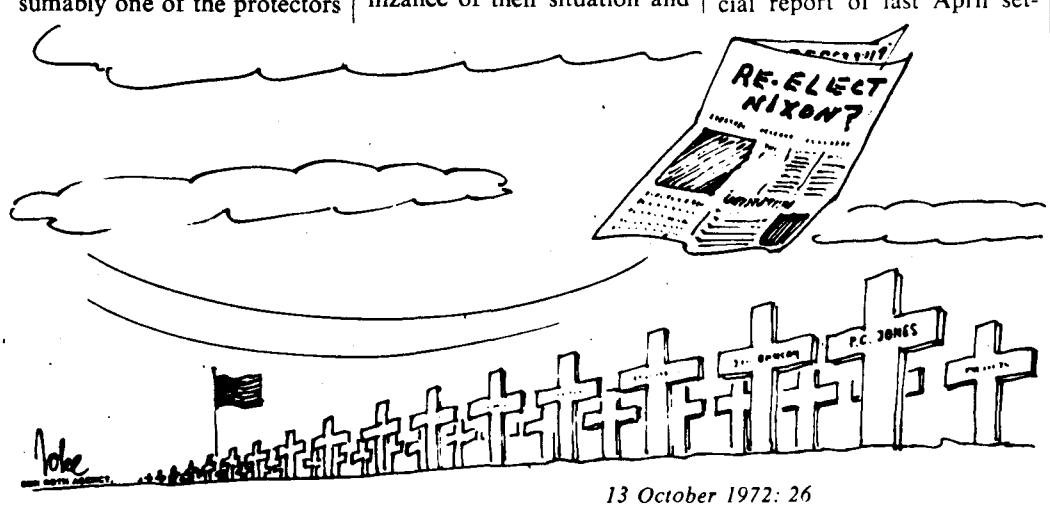
This is the strength of New York's seemingly new procedures.

Odds and Ends

—"You need a strong personality to overcome the effects of a name like mine," said a Minneapolis woman in requesting from Judge Dana Nicholson a legal change of name. Judge Nicholson said he was "somewhat offended" by the request, but acceded. Thus the new Jean Frances Kirkpatrick got her name. Her old name: June Louise Nixon.

—That aluminum beer can you pitched into the woods, know when it's going to biodegrade into dust bits of aluminum oxide? By the summer of 2472, according to estimate of Dr. Edwin L. Owen of Penn State University. The discarded tin can's only going to use one-fifth the time. It will return to nature by the year 2072.

—Sally Cunneen's rejoinder in the New York *Sunday News* to the observation during an interview on a feminine ministry that Christ did not choose any female disciples: "He didn't choose any Italians, either." JOHN DEEDY



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CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom to Die

Washington D. C.

To the Editors: Daniel Maguire's courageous (or foolish?) article on the freedom to die [Aug. 11] invokes "modern biology" in his analysis. It seems to me he raises two possibilities:

1. People with certain characteristics are biologically alive, but their life has no value.
2. People with certain characteristics are dead, though we don't recognize it.

As Beecher rightly states (and Maguire carefully avoids discussing) if people are dead one should be able to bury them, whether they have spontaneous heart and lung action or not.

If, on the other hand, the issue is that certain people have no value to themselves or others, then that is a value issue and should not be confused with the issue of biological death. They are alive, not dead. I believe it is dangerous for clarity of thought to confuse the purely biological question of biological death (as against biological life), with that of supposedly valueless life (as against valuable life). We have already seen enough confusion on that score in the abortion debate in which for purposes of value-judgments the biology of the fetus has had to be so twisted as to call a fetus a maternal organ.

Maguire's article is entitled "The Freedom To Die." The dead do not need that freedom. They only need burial. Maguire is dealing with the right to turn life into death, biologically, where the life has no value. He will now have to have the courage of assigning values to the indubitably alive. How to die in a Christian context is much more difficult than to settle the relatively simple matter of when spontaneous death has occurred, which is only confused by those who do not understand the physiological

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McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT

The editors of *Commonweal* formally endorse Senator McGovern for President of the United States. This is no routine decision. Only once in our almost half-century of publishing have we officially backed a candidate: Adlai E. Stevenson in 1952. In the past, even in 1928 and 1960—elections which, in a symbolic sense, specifically concerned Catholics—we have restricted our editorial discussion to the issues. In past campaigns we have expressed our satisfaction or dissatisfaction with both candidates. Yet, in spite of the deceptive dullness of this campaign, this is no ordinary election. It may be a turning point in American history, a year when political, economic and cultural patterns are set that will determine the future nature of the American character. The real America is being asked to please stand up.

George McGovern speaks to and embodies the best instincts of the American people. If, in some eyes, he does not match the glamour or eloquence of the men whose legacy he seeks to save—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Adlai E. Stevenson and John F. Kennedy—he does match their integrity, intelligence and vision. He is himself. He is that rare treasure—the good man in public life. He has listened to the American people with compassion, spoken to them with courage, and correctly read America's heart. Richard Nixon, meanwhile, has promised to bring us together, secure our streets, and quickly end the longest, costliest war in our history; but we have heard the dignity of his inaugural address fade with the echoes of his words.

Rather than transcend his own past he reaffirmed it, sending out his legates to impugn the patriotism of men who questioned him. Rather than appreciate the complexity of American society and talk rationally to a people suffering the anxiety of social change, he has simplistically distorted the American dream—once built on a belief in the dignity of every individual—and redefined it in terms of his own career. The war he pledged to end he expanded into Laos and Cambodia; and he has rained countless tons of bombs daily on the now moon-cratered surface of North Vietnam because, in his value system, life is above all a ruthless struggle to be "first"—for a nation as for an individual—no matter what the cost in truth or human lives. Richard Nixon once had a chance to unify the nation and to usher in the "generation of peace," but he missed it because something

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else was more important: the consolidation of his own power. He does not deserve that chance again.

As a Catholic magazine in an ecumenical age we support McGovern because the overriding issues are moral ones. We speak of moral issues not in the narrowly religious sense, but as members of a tradition, shared by our Jewish and Protestant brothers, that holds that God has given man freedom and responsibility to work for a just society on earth. We are to feed the poor, clothe the naked, visit the imprisoned, love *all* men. Concretely, in the political sphere, this calls for a more equitable distribution of the wealth; the full integration of black people into American society; the right of every man to work, organize, bargain and, when necessary, strike; the right of every young person to a full education; decent housing and guaranteed health care; both crime control and prison reform; the right to express oneself freely and live and worship according to one's conscience. George McGovern and Sargent Shriver come from this tradition and are dedicated to these goals.

The present Administration has kept its promises to big grain dealers, big milk producers, the most powerful conglomerates, Southern segregationists and the still-secret contributions to its ten-million dollar fund. It has so stacked the courts and the Justice Department with mediocre partisans that the current climate of favoritism and corporate greed could return us the gluttony of Grant and Harding.

Still, *the* issue remains the war. Somehow Richard Nixon has moved toward an accommodation with Communist Russia and Communist China; yet to shore up a corrupt "non-Communist" Thieu regime, he has pounded Vietnam to dust. He will mourn Tanya who died almost twenty-five years ago, but not the Vietnamese child who dies today. A month ago, campaigning in Connecticut, McGovern departed from his text to plead for the bewildered people of Southeast Asia, smaller than we and of a different skin color, the daily victims of our bombs, and asked his listeners to remember "that each one of them is also a child of the same God that created us." That is why McGovern must become President.

We reject the idea that there is any readily deliverable bloc Catholic vote; and we regret that politicians of both parties have continually appealed to Catholics as if they were concerned only with so-called "Catholic" symbols and issues—friendly letters to the hierarchy, pornography, abortion, and aid to parochial schools. The great burden of Catholic scholarship and leadership in the past century has been to move American Catholicism off the defensive, out of the ghetto and into its full and rightful influence in a larger pluralistic society. That struggle has been partially won. Now, as election day nears, with all due respect for those who disagree, we urge American Catholics, Protestants and Jews to call on that devotion to peace and justice all men of moral concern share to make America "the great and good land it should be."

BLOODBATH?

The report by D. Gareth Porter elsewhere in this issue offers a sharp contrast to the frequently repeated charge that Catholics fled North Vietnam by the thousand because of a Communist "bloodbath." On this score it is reassuring, and the prestige of the East Asia Project of Cornell University will do much to give it weight for many who might otherwise be skeptical.

As far as the future in Vietnam is concerned, Mr. Porter writes: "Both the historical record of the period following the Geneva agreement of 1954 and present Communist policies make it clear that the positive objective of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front will be reconciliation and national unity rather than reprisals or repression of Catholics." On this point all can certainly hope that North Vietnam and the NLF will live up to Mr. Porter's expectations. Indeed, a serious Christian-Marxist dialogue in Vietnam as elsewhere would be most welcome and might well be most fruitful for more mutually satisfactory future relationships.

With that said, however, a certain caution about the future in Vietnam seems in order. There are those who look on the North Vietnamese as secular saviors; we retain a certain skepticism, even though the Thieu regime seems deliberately trying to make them look good. As we see it, the war in Vietnam is wrong, both for what it is doing to Vietnam and what it is doing to the United States. But this is not to say that all will be sweetness and light when and if the Communists achieve power, perhaps especially as far as Catholics are concerned. No matter what the language of constitution or declaration, the fact is that in no Communist country to date have Catholics and Marxists been able to achieve anything better than an uneasy détente; sadly enough, the pattern is often worse.

COMING

BERNARD BERGONZI discusses a group of novels about the Vietnam war:

"The authors are highly responsive to the nuances of soldiers' speech, but they are also strikingly bookish; the names and quotations that occur in epigraphs and allusions would provide a good foundation for a Great Books course, which is one result of sending a well-educated citizen army into a bad and unpopular war. If the enlisted men give expression to their feelings by endless and often subtle variations on standard modes of obscenity, the officers and more cultivated non-coms draw on their reading in literature and philosophy for other kinds of expression. At the same time, the general literariness is balanced by an impulse toward total documentary realism."

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THE ERA OF AMERICAN RESIGNATION?—II

PETER STEINFELS

Is America entering an Era of Resignation? There are some observers who think so, and there are others who hope so. Both can find a surfeit of evidence in the public's reaction, or lack of it, to the election campaign.

What would an Era of Resignation look and feel like? What public policies and attitudes does it imply? The operating principle of the Era of Resignation will be that *America must lower its aspirations for justice and equality*. That principle will be backed by a mythology and a political strategy.

The mythology will offer, as explanation of America's predicament, the Myth of the Radical Sixties. According to this myth, the '60s saw American aspirations cranked up to absolutely unjustified, unrealistic heights, and not by the people generally but by a growing class of intellectuals and semi-intellectuals and, under their influence, by the mass media.

The nation's response, so the myth goes, was a sincere and extended effort to meet those aspirations. That effort failed. Not only did it fail, it jacked the dissatisfaction still higher and legitimized assaults, sometimes illegal, sometimes violent, on the mainstream society.

Like all myths, this one has its grains of truth. But it forgets, or ignores, the fact that the effort of the '60s was limited largely to the middle years of the decade; was framed by experienced politicians in search of a political strategy rather than by utopian intellectuals; was underfunded from the start and quickly cut off from anticipated expansion by the war in Vietnam—instead of seed money becoming sapling money, the programs were deforested—and always operated within tight political restraints. There *was* an effort, to the credit of many; an effort characterized by numerous shortcomings, self-deceptions, and miscalculations, all of which should now be fair game for analysis and criticism. But to imply, as is now being done, that "We did our best, and our best wasn't enough, so the poor, the disadvantaged, and the excluded are now on their own" is as inaccurate as it is cruel.

The political strategy of the Era of Resignation will flow logically from its operating principle and from its mythology. If the fundamental problem is swollen aspirations, then society must be "managed" so that aspirations are kept under control. In the economic sphere, the Administration has already attempted this with its wage-price controls, a radical reform put to conservative purposes, as Michael Harrington explained in these pages a year ago.

But the mythology of the Era of Resignation does not perceive the danger to its desired calm as coming from the economic sphere. It indicates three crucial targets for its political "management": radical activists and community organizers, the mass media, and the intellectuals. Insofar as any of these again threaten to encourage demands which cannot be easily met, they will have to be isolated and discredited, threatened, and, if necessary, subject to government reprisals.

The strategy will differ from target to target. Direct repression can be attempted in the case of political radicals or activists who threaten the kind of effective direct action which might have reverberations in a wider public. Community organizers or groups like those providing legal services to the poor will be placed under strict control or lose their government funding. If they are not government-supported, a hostile atmosphere of accusations and litigation will frighten away foundations and other private contributors.

The approach to "managing" the mass media will be much subtler. It will involve a combination of public attacks, legal threats, friendly overtures, demands of official prerogatives. The government will present itself not as a partisan voice but as the spokesman of the public in opposition to private (critical) media. This concern for the public's right to know and for a variety of viewpoints will be expressed very selectively indeed. Where the media will act "responsibly" to keep aspirations from coming to a boil, there will be only praise and privileges.

The main object of attention will, of course, be television. As large, inherently conservative corporations subject to government control, the TV networks are not naturally resistant to this mixture of pressure and blandishment. It would not be surprising if the Era of Resignation saw an unwritten equivalent of the media blacklists of the '50s.

Finally, the strategists of Resignation will want to isolate and discredit the intellectuals, or alternatively to encourage and sponsor the growth of a "clerisy," an orthodox intellectual establishment, to oppose the "adversary culture" they feel has infected intellectual life. In this effort, they will be assisted by the economic squeeze on the universities, which will put intellectual good behavior at a premium, both for individuals and institutions.

The strategists of Resignation would no doubt prefer America's victims, from welfare mothers to Vietnamese peasants, to be resigned to their lot; but they are too smart to bet on it. They are gambling that the rest of us can be lulled and worn into a resignation about the sorry fate of others. They know that we can get along comfortably enough, if a mite shamefacedly, in a nation that has learned to shrug and look the other way. It is a cynical but perhaps realistic bet.

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THE JEWISH VOTE

IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ

Israel is not the issue

The position of the Jews in the elections of 1972 presents this community of between five and six million people with a unique opportunity and a unique situation. This uniqueness derives not so much from the position of the candidates vis-à-vis Israel as it does the position of the Jews vis-à-vis America. That so much "in house" Jewish analysis thus far should be couched in terms which hinge upon how hard or how soft either President Nixon or Senator McGovern is on the Israeli issue seems to be remarkably wide of the mark.

What prompts this discussion is the widely reported and much-heralded defections from the McGovern camp of prominent Jews who, in the past, have been associated with upper-echelon Democratic Party funding if not policy. A sample run-through of economic brokers who are either openly supporting President Nixon or, more characteristically, simply not supporting candidate McGovern is impressive: Stanley Goldblum (Chmn. and Pres., Equity Funding Corp.); Eugene V. Klein (Board Chmn., National General Corp.); Meshulam Riklis (Chmn. and Pres., Rapid American Corp.); Davis Factor (Board Chmn., Max Factor & Co.); Irvin J. Kahn (San Diego industrialist); Stanley Beyer (Vice Chmn. of the Board, The Pennsylvania Life Co.).

Less impressive in wealth but equally significant as a cultural force are the political brokers who have supported Democratic Party figures like Muskie, Humphrey and Jackson, but who, as vanguard members of Democrats for Nixon, have clearly broken with the Jewish monolithic position of unrelenting support for the Democratic Party. These include: Leo Cherne (Exec. Director, The Research Institute of America); Herschel Schacter (Former Chmn., Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations); David Luchins (Chmn., Jewish Youth for Humphrey); Leonard H. Marks (Former Director, United States Information Agency); William Wexler (Chmn., World Conference of Jewish Organizations).

Prior to examining the specifics of the 1972 elections and the Jewish role in those elections, a series of brief propositions, admittedly rendered *ex cathedra,* might be in order; and beyond that, a brief summary of what exactly does distinguish Nixon and McGovern on the Israeli question.

United States/Israel relationships, unlike others, cannot simply be bilateral; they are intrinsically multilateral. That is to say, such policies are filtered through the six million Jews living in the United States and their special role both with respect to the America they live, work in and are citizens of, and the Israel to which they feel profound historic and religious attachments.

Israel is a special case of a Third-World nation, cut off from its geographic base in the Middle East, and therefore its natural economic and political allies in the area. Israel thus is tied to the United States artificially and at times, even against its political will—as for instance its begrudging neutrality on Vietnam. Israel must forge its own domestic and foreign policies to suit United States interests; and the extent of this can be gauged by the similitude of voting patterns in the United Nations. To some degree, the natural propensities of Israel to move in alternative directions are thwarted by this need for continued United States support.

The above point is of particular interest, since American Jews, often of middle-class backgrounds and upper-

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class interests, linked to Israel through Zionist organizations, serve to artificially restrain dealings with the rest of the world and dampen enthusiasm for much-needed Israeli internal reforms. Hence, the special conditions and contradictions of Israel are accentuated and made manifest not only by those dealings with the United States as its exclusive powerful ally, but no less by a lingering feeling of dependence upon American Jews, who are perceived (not always correctly) as helping shape American foreign policy.

Considerable problems in the relationship between the United States and Israel are inherent in the inability of either to accept a third-party coalition in Middle Eastern affairs. Israel falls victim to the small nation-big nation dichotomy. It simply cannot abide or accept arrangements between, for example, the United States and the Soviet Union to settle by fiat and by superpower dictation, the fate of the Middle East. Israel for so long has had to forge its own future that it cannot easily accept manipulation by others. This underscores the recalcitrant nature of the United States/Israel alliance. The fact that Israel can call upon a hidden Jewish constituency, overt in the United States and covert in the Soviet Union, does indeed give weight and substance to the Israel claim that it is not simply a small power which can be regulated or mortgaged at the behest of the major powers.

The United States does have vital oil interests in the Middle Eastern Arab countries; and these fundamentally economic interests act as a restraint and a brake on any overt manifestation of support for the greater Israel position, that is, the settlement based roughly on the de facto boundaries forged after the 1967 War. The burden of the Rogers plan, of the Sisco initiative and of the McCloskey proposals are all based on the trade-off of Israeli rollbacks for Arab settlement.

The U.S. Position

The position of the United States, whether the Republican Party or the Democratic Party is in charge, is quite simple: normalize relationships in the area; achieve a peaceful settlement between the contending parties; maintain the American presence in Israel, but also maintain the American economic presence in the Arab Middle East; at the same time, permit a Soviet presence in the Mediterranean, and a land and air presence in Egypt, Syria and elsewhere as the Soviets see fit. In this, it is impossible to detect a shred of difference between the position of the two parties of Presidential candidates. This party isomorphism is a consequence of American political requisites, not short-range personality quirks between candidates.

In a world dominated by the force of arms, the United States role as the primary arms supplier to Israel has increased rather than decreased over time. In part, this is a deepening commitment. But beyond that, this commitment itself is a reflection of the United States assessment that the power balance would have been upset by virtue of the declining Anglo-French support to Israel during the 1960s. The United States has been in a position of having to step up its own arms support or run the serious risk of upsetting the military as well as political balance in the Middle East. Nonetheless, it is doubtless true that for Secretary Rogers and Under-Secretaries McCloskey and Sisco, this stepped-up role was always felt to be a reluctant admission of American needs rather than an enthusiastic assertion of Israeli rights. With the new decline of the Soviet presence in Egypt, one can expect United States bargaining to become even tougher as it seeks a political settlement as a trade-off for military supplies.

This brief overview serves to indicate that the current debate in American circles of whether to support Nixon or McGovern is largely devoid of any empirical content and reflects instead a serious shift in the social condition and political position of the upper strata of American Jews, who, unable to face up to the challenge of domestic life, choose a convenient rhetoric of support for Israel instead.

Jews are as frightened and nervous of the black population and minority-group violence as any other ethnic middle-class suburban sector. Beyond being aware of the fact that there is more in-group minority violence than intra-group violence, they not only have the right to be scared, they have the obligation to declare that fright. Poles and Italian city-dwellers and middle-class housewives on city shopping sprees are quite candid in expressing their fear. They do not raise the Italian question or the Polish question with regard to Nixon and McGovern; they know that McGovern is "soft" on law and order and "hard" on justice, and they know that Nixon is "hard" on law and order and "soft" on justice. The composition of the Supreme Court warrants at least that much. It behooves the Jews to be at least as candid as the rest of the American middle class and ethnic working class and not make believe that they are making voting decisions on the basis of abstract foreign policies, the substance of which they are as ignorant of as the rest of the American population, rather than concrete street-level deviance, the substance of which they are as knowledgeable of as the rest of the American population.

The dual newspaper attribution of Israeli support for Nixon and fear of McGovern is built on sand and manufactured of whole cloth. The few utterances that have been made are reported as informal and off-the-record. They have the nature of diplomatic correctness. For example, exchange of telephone pleasantries between Nixon and Golda Meir on the opening of a new television channel in Jerusalem have been interpreted as a veritable campaign pledge. The actual statement of McGovern on Israel and of the Democratic campaign itself,

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offer the identical support as those made by the Republican Party officials to the continuation of the State of Israel, and its sovereign right to existence. On the Israeli issue, major differences between candidates and parties are simply nonexistent. In any event, it is hard to believe that Israeli sentiment, even if it were firmly for Nixon, could possibly sway American Jewish voting patterns which are now of 30 years duration—going back to the first election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932.

A cluster of powerful Jewish businessmen on "the Street" and their commercial counterparts throughout the country are deploying the Israeli-Arab struggle as a disguise for their own profound shift of class interests. They have real economic fears (which they share with their fellow entrepreneurs): higher taxes on business to support new welfare and work programs, affirmative action thrusts in federal and state programs that *might* operate to the detriment of existing social and educational patterns, and a winding-down of military spending that might result in smaller profits and greater short-range labor discontent. That this in part is well understood as

a ruse and subterfuge by Jewish voters, is shown by the support given to McGovern by unions such as the Almalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Automobile Workers and the Meat Cutters Union, where Jews remain an important factor at the rank-and-file and/or administrative levels. That there will be Jewish "defections" from the Democratic Party ranks is unquestionable, but that such defections will amount to more than a fraction of the American Jewish voters is untenable. Indeed, if the Republican Party can increase its base of Jewish support from 15 percent to 30 percent, this will be a notable political fact of life; but not likely in and of itself to shape the outcome of the election or alter party platforms and policies.

The only candidate who really had a clearly defined hard-line Israeli-hawk position was Senator Henry Jackson. His important report to the Committee on Armed Services of the United States Senate, submitted in December 1970 on the "Middle East and American Security Policy" singles out not Democratic Party softness on Israel; but rather Republican Party indecisiveness on Israel. It is a curious fact, in the light of the present Nixon celebration among affluent Jews, that in this report, it is Republican Party policies that come under direct attack; Jackson is the only party figure (Democrat or Republican) who advocates dropping the Rogers formula of supporting only "insubstantial alterations" in the 1949 armistice lines and substituting in its place a formula that recognizes that the primacy of establishing defensible borders for Israel. This question of defensible borders shows the Republican Party to be at least as soft—if not softer than—the Democratic Party; and nothing in the remarks of either candidate indicates that there is likely to be a policy shift—at least not as long as the present Mid-East détente remains intact.

The Jewish community of the United States has traditionally voted with the Democratic Party; not as an act of contrition or faith, but rather in the belief that that party expressed the best interests of the American political commonweal in its search for universal justice and complete equity. The Jews are a unique force in American politics, in that, despite their class backgrounds or interests, they have the capacity to vote and act beyond their class and beyond interest group constraints. The real choice then in the 1972 elections—insofar as Jews are affected—is whether this historic sense of equity, built up by the strong and powerful identification from the New Deal period to the New Frontier period, would yield to a sense of fear and a sentiment of loathing for the newer minority groups, particularly the blacks and Spanish-speaking groups who have gotten beyond philanthropy in their dealings with Jews. There can be no question of this as the main issue.

The issue for Jews in this election is not Israel, but their survival as an ethnic group in their own right; one which will permit them to join with blacks, poor Catholics, Poles, Slovaks, urban labor and college youths. This may turn out to be a losing coalition in the 1972 elections, but nonetheless this coalition shows the face of the future if not to American society as a whole, then at least to the Democratic Party in particular. The alternative is to have the Jews become part of the dominant national culture—that mythic culture which Norman Podhoretz speaks of in the pages of *Commentary*, but cannot really locate either in the minds or the writings of Americans. What is at stake in these elections is not the Jewish identification with the "national culture" but with the dominant social classes that are represented by the Republican Party.

To gild the lily and pretend that Jews will exclusively vote on the basis of what is best for Israel, is simply a cruel disguise and a form of misanthropic humor. Everyone knows, or certainly will know by election day, that it is the fate of New York's Forest Hills housing project which will be the actual determination in Jewish Presidential preferences rather than the supposed alternatives of Nixon or McGovern on the State of Israel. In other words, this election is of special interest to the Jewish community, for they will be making a pivotal

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and long-standing decision to join the ranks of the middle classes in politics as they have in economics by voting for the Republican Party, or a continued fusing of their interests with the working classes and the lower-middle classes, that broad spectrum of people involved in the urban sprawl who comprise the warp and woof of reform Democratic politics.

To put the matter metaphorically—or perhaps even metaphysically—shall the Jews remain loyal to their historic faith in universal justice, or shall they become just one more link in the great chain of Protestant Bourgeois Being that constitutes the dominant sectors of the Republican Party? If this question puts the matter somewhat simplistically, it at least has the advantage of being infinitely more accurate than the current "soft or hard on Israel" surrogate debate. At least it is fair to the principles and premises upon which electoral decisions are made: how they affect the citizens of the United States, who after all, are the only ones who vote in American elections.

JEWISH CONSERVATIVE BACKLASH?

JACK NUSAN PORTER

It was no surprise that one of the most popular of the Democratic runners among Jews was Senator Jackson, a 'hawk' in support of Israel and on law and order

There is a growing conservatism among American Jews. At times I ask if it is really conservatism; e.g., an over-riding concern for the status quo and an equally strong defense of one's own class and/or ethnic interests, or is it simply muted liberalism? Is it a passing thing, a temporary isolationism from a circle of "enemies" —a temporary defense against attacks from within (radical Jewish youth, the Jewish Defense League), and from without (black anti-Semitism, general anti-Israel feelings), or is it a permanent turn inwards prompted by the economic and political recession; a return to ethnic self-interest, caused by the widespread *zeitgeist* of fear and disillusionment?

And when I ask this question of Jews, I am really asking this question of most Americans. Let me state my argument in the form of a dialectical process: if this conservatism of the elders is the thesis, and the activism of the young is the antithesis, then what is the synthesis?

There are no simple answers. I will describe this synthesis (or at least my view of it) later, but let me first paint a picture of this conservatism.

The most visible indication is the growing "Jewish vote" for Richard Nixon in the upcoming election. Nixon will receive at least 30 percent of the Jewish vote, maybe more; McGovern will probably lose New York State because of it, and possibly Illinois, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Political analysts tell us that the American public votes not so much *for* a candidate, but *against* his opponent. This seems to be the case here to some degree. The anti-McGovern sentiments among many, but not all, Jews are based on emotions, fantasies, intuitive feelings. These fantasies are often more important than cold reality. The fantasy, the rumors going round, is that McGovern is "soft" on Israel. Though there are no hard data to support this, nevertheless many Jews feel that he will not support Israel as staunchly as Nixon has.

Israel is the most sacred and most emotional of issues for Jews. They have seen Nixon *doing*—providing more jets and war material than any previous President; talking to Golda Meir about Israel's security; speaking to Russian leaders about the plight of the Soviet Jewry. With McGovern, many Jews have only vague promises; with Nixon they have seen concrete action. McGovern has his work cut out for him when he confronts Jewish voters.

The second major reason for the Jewish swing to Nixon is that many Jews believe the propaganda that McGovern is "socialist" and "radical." This has become an effective campaign weapon. Jews feel that McGovern will take from the middle-class (read: Jews) and give to the blacks, the Puerto Ricans and the young. The old zero-sum game: what they get, we lose.

But though the pro-Nixon vote is the apex of this conservative trend, there have been numerous other signs along the way over the past few years. Here are some examples, some trivial, most are significant. They all prophesied this shift.

—The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith recently turned over to the FBI their files on the Jewish Defense League. (It is a bitter irony that twenty-five years after the Nazi Holocaust, Jews will act as informers on other Jews, no matter what their political or tactical differences.)

—On May 6, 1969, the Oakland chapter of B'nai B'rith bestowed on S. I. Hayakawa, conservative president of San Francisco State College, its "Man of the

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Year" award. "We honor men whose exemplary conduct manifests the true spirit of America in its finest hour," the lodge president said of the man who used National Guard troops and brutal police tactics to squash student protest.

—Philadelphia Police Chief Frank Rizzo was given the same award by a local chapter of the Histadrut Zionist Organization in November 1970. As a successful law-and-order candidate in the Democratic mayoral primary in April 1971, Rizzo received about three-quarters of the Jewish vote. In his successful campaign in November 1971 for mayor, Rizzo was elected with the overwhelming support of Jewish voters.

—In Los Angeles, Mayor Sam Yorty, the flamboyant reactionary, conjured up images of black militants' running city hall if black opponent Thomas Bradley overcame Yorty's reelection bid. Yorty's histrionics increased his Jewish support from 18 percent in the primary (against Bradley and several others) to 43 percent in the two-way run-off in 1969.

—During the New York City teachers' strike of 1968-69, Jewish spokesmen fanned the flames of racism, initiated by some anti-Semitic remarks by isolated blacks, and turned an essentially class and educational conflict into an ethnic and racial one. Albert Shanker, head of the predominantly Jewish Teachers' Union, talked of "Nazis" and "Gestapo tactics"; the New York Board of Rabbis created hysteria by preaching sermons about alleged arson of synagogues by blacks; and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith issued a report which announced that "raw, undisguised anti-Semitism is at a crisis level" in New York.

The tensions produced by these events are still being felt within the Jewish community; black demands symbolically threaten many Jews—teachers, social workers and businessmen in the city, and professionals and intellectuals in the suburbs.

—The Anti-Defamation League last spring launched bitter attacks against a number of radical health groups such as the Medical Committee for Human Rights, Physicians for Social Responsibility, and the Student Health Organization.

A news story in the *New York Times* (January 24, 1971) summarizes the ADL's indictment: the Physicians for Social Responsibility, for example, had the nerve to concern itself with "peace issues as they relate to medicine and health—the use of chemical and biological warfare weapons." The Student Health Organization is suspect since it has engaged in ghetto community projects funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. And the Medical Committee for Human Rights is committed to "radical restructuring of the health industries through political action."

The reason for the indictment is simple: there are many doctors in positions of power who are threatened by the coming democratization of health care, and among these doctors, are of course, many Jews—prominent and influential in the Jewish establishment . . . and in the B'nai B'rith. Of course, what the ADL failed to notice, however, is that these radical medical groups *also* contain many Jews. In short, it seems that what's good for medical institutions is what's good for the *established* Jewish doctors and teachers, *not* the young ones, nor the poor in this society.

—Numerous young Jewish Hebrew teachers and rabbis have been fired or severely criticized after attempting innovative pedagogical techniques in their classrooms or synagogues.

—In the fall of 1970, major Jewish organizations boycotted the visit of Uri Avnery, outspoken opposition member of the Israeli parliament, to campuses. They urged local Jewish groups not to sponsor talks by Avnery, a popular figure among the Jewish and Israeli Left, who had been critical of Israel's handling of the Palestinian refugees.

A memorandum of the Anti- Defamation League of B'nai B'rith sent out on September 18, 1970 to its regional offices, specifically advised Jewish organizations "not to sponsor or co-sponsor his appearances and not

engage in public debate with him." It went on to say that "As an opponent of the traditional concepts of Zionism and Judaism, Avnery may say things which will trouble and even embarrass the Jewish community."

—Each year various Jewish communities spend small fortunes to undertake population surveys of their members, usually for the purpose of philanthropy. Yet major Jewish organizations have consistently fought against inclusion of questions on religion on the U.S. Census, which could provide sophisticated—and free—up-to-date information about American Jews.

When the Jewish "Establishment" of interlocking philanthropic and social organizations launched the National Jewish Population Study (cost: $650,000), young Jewish activists in Berkeley, in their journal *The Jewish Radical,* condemned this as the "Jewish reluctance to be collectively suspicious." In other words, it pointed out a long-lasting fear among Jews that Christians would use figures on Jewish median income and education (both extremely high) against them. Young militant Jews see in

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this, however, the persistence of the Jewish "Establishment" to define Jews as a religious group (the early German Reform Jews in America called themselves "Americans of the Mosaic persuasion"), rather than as an ethnic group, to insure their assimilation into what Will Herberg termed the "triple melting pot" of Protestant, Catholic and Jew.

—When Jacques Torcyner, president of the Zionist Organization of America, adopted a hawkish position on Vietnam to win Administration support for Israel, the *Jewish Radical* called him "Nixon's hatchet man in the Jewish community," while the radical Zionist Jewish Liberation Project picketed the ZOA building in New York.

—Well-known Jewish professors and educators write for right-wing magazines. For example, in the 1971 issues of *Ideas* (Vol. 2, No. 4), a quarterly sponsored by the Jewish Society of America, the "Jewish wing" of the John Birch Society, there are the following articles: One, by Charles A. Weil, calls for Nixon aid to Israel exclusively on anti-Soviet grounds. Prof. Joseph Dunner of Yeshiva University, a Goldwater admirer, looks to corral more Jewish votes for Nixon in 1972. Rabbi Jakob J. Petuchowski, a theologian of Reform Judaism at Hebrew Union College, scores what he calls the "left turn" in American Reform Judaism. Rabbi Jacob Neusner, an Orthodox Jew and professor at Rutgers, is enthusiastic about Vice President Agnew and regards "the entrenched Liberal organizational structure of the Jewish community" as a barrier to winning Jews to Agnew, although his article is entitled "The Jews Move Right."

—On a different level, and more significantly, *Commentary* magazine, once the darling of American liberal journals, has gone reactionary. In a recent article in *Commonweal,* Peter Steinfels defines this reaction as a "cooling" of American intellectuals toward the predominant social movements of the past decade.

Recent issues of *Commentary,* the monthly publication of the American Jewish Committee, have suggested a parallel between New Leftists and German Communists who helped pave the way for Hitler; have argued that repression in America is a lot of nonsense and that militants bring it upon themselves anyway; have condemned or chided an entire succession of movements: Black Panthers, Women's Liberation, the counter-culture, innovative education, and the Jewish radical movement.

Yet, the editors and writers of *Commentary* reflect not only the thinking of some intellectuals, but also that Jewish pawnbroker in the ghettos of Bedford-Stuyvesant, New York.

Now, the question is what is one to make out of all of this? It seems there is now ample evidence, although I have no systematic data, of a *political shift within a significant majority of the American Jewish community.*

From the heyday of the Civil Rights movement with the names of Goodman and Schwerner ringing in our ears, there has been a perceptible shift among American Jews to a muted liberalism, bordering on conservative withdrawal. If this is true and I believe it is, then the Jews should be watched because they are a barometer for other liberal groups in America. The effect of this political shift can be seen in two areas, the first, internal, within the Jewish community, and the second, external, within the national political structure. Internally, there has also developed a "mini-generation gap" between young post-Israel, post-Holocaust Jews and the older Jewish "Establishment." The political, cultural and ethnic estrangement of many young Jews is the result.

This estrangement was made manifest in a new movement that began after the 1967 Israeli-Arab Six-Day War. Caught between the anti-Zionist New Left and Black Panther Party, the lox and bagels campus Hillel "society," and the Jewish adult organizations, a new way, another stand, was necessary—an activist *and* Jewish one. Since 1967, over 100 such groups, such as the Jewish Liberation Project, the Radical Zionist Alliance, the Jews for Urban Justice and the Jewish Radical Union, have sprung up on and off campuses from Boston to Berkeley. The names of their journals and newspapers (nearly 40 of them, with a reading public of 150-200,000) give notice of their ideals: *The Jewish Radical, Response, Davka, The Voice of Micah, Otherstand* and the *Jewish Liberation Journal.*

Walking the "tightrope" between messianic universalism and Jewish ethnic particularism, these groups will have a direct confrontation with their elders over this political shift. These young Jews reject the diaspora mentality of caution and fear—fear of what the "goyim" (non-Jews) think; they reject the idea that ethnic survival must become an end in itself; they will not support Vietnams just because they think that Administration support for Israel may be undercut; they will not assimilate into the melting pot nor will they become, like the Jewish Defense League, their youthful reactionary counterpart, ethnically separated from the struggles of blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, or Indians. Out of the memories of their own oppression, history and identity, they feel they must identify with other people's oppression.

This internal schism should be noted, but the political shift of American Jews on a national level is of utmost importance to track. First, it seems that in local political campaigns, even in New York, there may no longer be a distinctly Democratic "Jewish vote." No politician can be sure even on a national ticket about such a vote. Appeals to the Jews' liberalism may be over; a Jewish "backlash" is the result.

Law and order, unqualified support for Israel (even if that means political arm-twisting over other issues), anti-busing, anti-open-admissions, and anti-integration—all those areas that were traditional "hard-hat" blue-

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collar issues are now of concern to Jewish voters. Political leaders and analysts will have to ponder these changes. Democrats who hope to capture the Jewish vote and the Jewish money will have to change their tune. It was no surprise that one of the most popular of the Democratic runners among Jews was Senator Henry Jackson—a "hawk" in support of Israel and a "hawk" on law and order.

This political shift, plus a blurring of differences between "Republican" and "Democratic" leaders, both nationally and locally, may see many Jews voting for the candidate that offers *them,* not others such as blacks, the best offer. They will swing either way politically, voting for the man, not the party. Yet all this is not new. Throughout history Jews, when necessary, have sacrificed idealism to survival. They will curry favor and concessions from the governing class for these very same pragmatic reasons. It augurs badly for the radical and the left-liberal in this country.

The harsh reality of American life for the Jew is that he is *no longer considered an oppressed minority group.* Though there are pockets of forgotten Jewish poor in New York, Boston and a few large urban centers (whose interests the Jewish Defense League defends), the overwhelming majority of Jews in America are middle-class to lower upper-class and they have the highest median income of any ethnic group in the country.

For example, when the Department of Health, Education and Welfare threatens to cut off governmental funds from certain universities or corporations, it is because these institutions have too few blacks, women, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, or Amerindians—*not* too few Jews, as might have been the case twenty years ago.

Yes, most Jews have "made it." While they may have been radicals at the turn of the century when they were poor and working class, and ripe for militant (read: union) action, today they are middle-class or better, and have new class interests. And Marx is correct: they will protect their class position. The attack in the 1960s has come from below—from the poor black and Puerto Rican under-class. And it is not anti-Semitism as much as class conflict and ethnic/racial rivalry.

But for the Jew, it is not so simple, nor is the situation a new one for the Jewish people. They find themselves as the historical "middlemen," the *luftmenschen* of time. As Arthur Waskow in *The Bush is Burning* points out:

> The Jewish grocer might charge blacks high prices because the non-Jewish bank was charging him high interest—but the blacks were likely to focus on the immediate oppression. The Jewish teacher might jam suburban English down black throats because a non-Jewish educational Establishment had jammed it down his own throat—but the blacks were likely to focus on the immediate oppression. Similarly for Jewish social workers, Jewish doctors . . .

Occasional anti-Semitic outbursts led Jews to respond with fear—to a defensive anti-black upsurge. It revived painful memories of Auschswitz and Treblinka and the Six-Day War. The result: a widespread feeling that the Jewish people were alone, able to depend only on each other, because the world would abandon them on a whim.

This is the main reason for the American Jews' slide into conservatism.

The upcoming election, as I've said earlier, will give Nixon a large Jewish vote, but there exist divisions here also. An interesting "coalition" of Jewish men of wealth and poorer, lower middle class Jews (including a high percentage of Orthodox Jews) will vote for Nixon. The former because of McGovern's economic program that threatens them; the latter because of his too-close identification with radical blacks and youth, and both because of his supposedly "soft" stand on Israel. Younger, college-educated students and professionals, especially Jewish intellectuals, will vote for McGovern exactly *because* of his "radical" economic and social plans and because Israel is not that important to them.

This mini-generation gap among Jews points out that the more assimilated Jew will vote for McGovern; the more traditional will go for Nixon. The three key predictive variables then are (young-old), economic background (blue-collar-professional) and religious identification (traditional-assimilated).

What is the alternative? The one that seems logical is to do what young activist Jews and non-Jews are doing. Go against one's class interests, one's own particularistic framework; begin to make alliances with other groups (not only blacks, but Appalachians, Italians, Poles and other working and middle-class groups) and begin to confront the real power centers—*which are not essentially Jewish:* banks, corporations and government. Force *them* to stop the ecological, political, military and economic "mutilation" of so many people.

What I am saying is that a new synthesis has to be found and put into action. It is based on two goals: (a) pluralistic accommodation, and (b) new working coalitions cutting across the barriers of race, religion, class and ethnicity. This won't be easy.

The Jew, like all white middle-class Americans, is in many ways also oppressed, but he has not defined that oppression as consciously nor as militantly as have blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and the activist young.

The consumer, the commuter, the suburbanite, the urban pedestrian are all oppressed—ecologically, financially, physicially—assaulted in many ways. Not as bad as the lower class, but bad enough.

I don't like to see blacks fighting Jews, or Puerto Ricans fighting blacks, or Chicanos fighting Anglo-Americans—over jobs, housing and community power—when an "invisible" third party is the real culprit. And that

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third party is an irresponsive or irresponsible government, whether it be local, state or national, a government which has not changed or changed fast enough to please the clamoring masses.

It is a question of priorities. It is still guns before butter when people are begging and fighting over bread-and-butter issues—like jobs, income, housing, safe streets, clean air and healthy food—issues that cut across classes and ethnic groups. Let me put it in the form of an analogy: I don't like to see brothers and sisters fighting over a little toy when the father, if he had the desire and the imagination, could provide toys for everyone, especially when he is the richest father in the world. One flawed jet plane that falls flaming into the sea could have paid for a lot of toys.

This is the message that Christian and Jewish activists are trying to tell their elders, both Jewish and Christian.

Is anyone listening?

CATHOLIC BLOODBATH IN VIETNAM?

D. GARETH PORTER

The use of this argument for U.S. intervention has involved massive falsification of history

FOR the past three years, a little-noticed but politically important campaign has been waged by the Nixon Administration to attract Catholic support for its war policy by raising the specter of postwar Communist repression of Vietnamese Catholics. In speeches, interviews and press conferences, President Nixon has attempted to link the movement of Catholic refugees from North Vietnam after the Geneva Agreement of 1954 with an alleged "bloodbath" in the North. The price of the creation of this new argument for American intervention in South Vietnam (which in fact only echoes an argument employed by the French in Indochina from 1950 to 1954), has been a massive falsification of history.

Nixon's first mention of the "bloodbath" theme came in his November 3, 1969 television speech, in which he declared that the Communist "reign of terror" in Hue during the Tet Offensive of 1968 would with the "sudden collapse" of U.S. support, "become the nightmare of the entire nation—and particularly for the million and a half Catholic refugees who fled to South Vietnam when the Communists took over in 1954."

On July 1, 1970, Nixon further elaborated on the theme in a television interview, referring to "Catholic refugees from North Vietnam after a bloodbath there when the North Vietnamese took over. . . ." And in a press interview on April 16, 1971, he carried it a step further. "A million refugees came from North Vietnam to South Vietnam," he said. "And they came there because of the terrible atrocities that were visited upon them by the Government of North Vietnam."

This effort to implant the notion of a "bloodbath" of Catholics after Geneva was finally climaxed by Nixon's statement in his July 27, 1972 press conference citing the Catholic Bishop of Danang as the source for his charge that the North Vietnamese government had condemned half a million people to death in "slave labor camps" in North Vietnam during the land reform campaign.

This carefully planned series of statements over the past three years was only part of a large official campaign to portray the immediate postwar period in North Vietnam as a blood reign of terror in which hundreds of thousands of innocent people were killed for ideological and political reasons. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the widely-accepted myth of a "bloodbath" during North Vietnam's land reform is the product of a propaganda campaign initiated by the Diem government in 1956 and later pushed by the U.S. government, to discredit the D.R.V's leaders as bloodthirsty ideological fanatics.* The myth, unsupported by any reliable documentary evidence, is fabricated out of falsehoods, misquotations and fraudulent evidence.

Nixon's revival of this propaganda against the land reform with the special twist of portraying Catholics as the primary victims plays upon another potent American myth: the presumed Communist intention of eliminating Vietnamese Catholics. But this notion, which has been an article of faith for American anti-Communists, is also baseless. For the historical record shows that, while Catholics and Communists have often been in conflict, it has never been Communist policy in Vietnam to repress Catholicism or to take vengeance against Catholics for having been aligned with the foe during a war.

The relationship between the D.R.V. and the Catholics of Vietnam is more complex and it should be viewed in

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*See *The Myth of the Bloodbath:North Vietnam's Land Reform Reconsidered* Interim Report no. 2, International Relations of East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1972.

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the context of the much longer history of bitter conflict between Catholics and non-Catholics in that country. Catholicism has always appeared to non-Catholic Vietnamese as an alien presence; Vietnamese converts, refusing to participate in the rituals of the village cult, grouped themselves apart in their own "peasant Christendoms," which became the basic unit of Vietnamese Catholicism.

The early non-Catholic fear and suspicion of missionary influence was followed later by resentment at the close association of Catholics with French rule. Early resistance movements against the French, led by the traditional Mandarin class, often took reprisals against Catholics accused of supporting the foreigners. The Nghe An-Ha Tinh partisans of 1885-1887 used the slogan, "Expel the Westerners and Exterminate the Christians." Memories of Catholic collaboration and of bloody reprisals against them have been deeply engraved in the minds of generations of Vietnamese on both sides.

In this historical context, it may be argued that the Vietnamese Communist movement, based on disciplined adherence to Marxism-Leninism, has been far more conciliatory and respectful toward Catholics than were earlier nationalist movements under the leadership of the traditional intelligentsia. For the Communists, while profoundly hostile to the social implications of the church's doctrines, have never regarded religious believers as enemies of the revolution but only as peasants who have been exploited and oppressed like their non-Catholic compatriots. Their analysis of historical change in terms of social classes and their sincere desire to form true national unity have impelled the Communists to put more emphasis on tolerance of Catholicism than was characteristic of traditional Vietnamese leaders.

From the first days of independence, the D.R.V's leaders, conscious of the danger that religious conflict might be used by the French to divide the National United Front against colonialism, made special efforts to appeal to Catholics, while insisting on respect for their religious freedom. Ho Chi Minh named several prominent Catholic laymen to his cabinet and even enlisted the Bishop of Phat Diem, Le Huu Tu, as his "Supreme Adviser" in 1946. When some Viet Minh entered churches to propagandise and otherwise interfere with Catholic worship, the bishops complained to Ho Chi Minh. His response was to issue decree number 34 of September 20, 1945, calling for severe penalties against anyone who interfered with freedom of worship in pagodas or churches. The decree, prominently displayed in the press, firmly established the new government's policy of religious tolerance.

Many individual Catholics—probably a majority of them—supported the Ho Chi Minh government throughout the resistance war, participating actively in Viet Minh political and military organs. But the bishops of the two major concentrations of Catholics in the North, Phat Diem and Bui Chu, remembering the repression of Catholics by Vietnamese nationalists in the past and hoping to continue the autonomy of the "peasant Christendoms" over which they exercised vast powers, could not trust the D.R.V. to protect the interests of the church. After the return of Bao Dai in 1949, Bishop Le Huu Tu, under French pressure, allowed Phat Diem to be "liberated" by Vietnamese troops of the French Union Forces. The Bishop of Bui Chu quickly followed suit.

Contrary to often-repeated French claims that it was a response to an unprovoked Viet Minh attack, "Operation Anthracite," under which the two dioceses were occupied, was a carefully-planned unilateral French move to force the Catholics to commit themselves openly against the Viet Minh. Whether or not it had been arranged with Bishop Tu in advance, he put up only token resistance and then began actively collaborating with the French and the Bao Dai government. French pacification programs were established in Phat Diem-Bui Chu, followed by the construction of an airfield and a mutual assistance pact between Bishop Tu's own military adviser and the Bao Dai forces. From that time on until the end of the war, this agglomeration of Catholics, with approximately one-fourth of all the Catholics in the North, was aligned with the French against the Viet Minh.

Communists reacted cautiously to this major breach in the United Front for which they had worked so hard. Leading party theoretician Truong Chinh wrote in an internal party organ in August, 1950, "We must . . . not fall into the trap of a 'civil war' which the enemy wants to lead us into. . . ." The main objective, he said, was still to "realistically defend the vital interests of our Catholic compatriots," thus persuading Catholics to "participate enthusiastically in the resistance and support our army's defeat of the colonialists." Even as the Viet Minh fought Catholic militia units in and around Phat Diem-Bui Bhu in 1951 and 1952, a high priority was placed on winning over Catholic soldiers individually and in groups. After a June 1951 battle in the region, according to the official party organ, *Nhan Dan*, 400 Catholic militiamen were captured and then released to return to their families as a political gesture toward the Catholics. Except for a few leaders who were branded as reactionaries and traitors, Catholics in the Phat Diem-Bui Chu region were still regarded as patriots by the Viet Minh.

As the war drew to a close, Viet Minh strength in the Red River delta became so great that the French were forced to withdraw their military forces from the area, leaving Phat Diem-Bui Chu open to the Viet Minh. In early July, 1954, therefore, even before the Geneva Agreement was signed, Bishop Tu evacuated to the South, along with the Bishop of Bui Chu, Pham Ngoc Chi, soon to be named Bishop of Danang in the South. In the succeeding months, the bulk of the faithful followed their bishops to the South, along with several hundred thousand others from Catholic communities throughout Tonkin and

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Northern Annam.

But they were not fleeing from a "bloodbath" or political reprisals, as President Nixon has alleged. Catholic communities were subject to an intensive psychological warfare campaign by the Diem regime and the U.S., the objective of which was to stimulate the greatest possible movement of refugees to the South as a political base for Ngo Dinh Diem. As a positive inducement to leave the North, Catholic villagers were told that the Catholic government in the South would give them special benefits in land and medical care. A Diemist radio broadcast beamed to the North on July 25, 1954 specifically promised each refugee family three acres of free land—more than the D.R.V. land reform could offer them, due to the scarcity of cultivated land in the North.

But more important in the mass exodus from the North were certain tactics used by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency as well as the Diem government to frighten Catholics and others who had collaborated with the French during the war. The Northern Catholic chief of the psychological warfare office of Diem's army from 1954 to 1962, Col. Nguyen Van Chau, has described in a recent interview in France how CIA-trained Vietnamese agents used "black propaganda" in the North. In order to convince Catholics, soldiers and civil servants that the Viet Minh would take reprisals against them, these agents distributed leaflets announcing the condemnation of certain people to death, as well as photographs of "Viet Minh soldiers" committing various atrocities —all "fabricated," according to Chau, by the CIA. These same agents spread the rumor that the entire Catholic Church was moving South, abandoning any Catholics who remained behind.

The Central Intelligence Agency, led by Col. Edward Landsdale, was also responsible for spreading the rumor that American and Diemist forces would return to liberate the North and would drop atomic bombs. Dr. Tom Dooley, according to the Pentagon ac-

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count, found refugees with pamphlets, obviously of American origin, showing a Hanoi map with three concentric circles of atomic destruction superimposed. The threat of atomic weapons was apparently taken seriously by many Vietnamese, as indicated by an account of the exodus by one of the refugees from Bui Chu, published to the author, Tran Trung, the Catholics of his village "all definitely wanted to go to the South, because of propaganda that if we remained, the Americans and Diem would drop the atomic bomb and kill everything."

No doubt Diemist and American propaganda exploited fears and uncertainties about what might happen to Catholics under a strong non-Catholic nationalist government, in view of previous historical episodes. But the D.R.V. did not carry out any reprisals against Catholics for having fought on the side of the French during the war. The only actions which could have been interpreted as hostile by Catholics were the sporadic attempts by the D.R.V. to delay and impede the movement of Catholics to the South, apparently in reaction to what must have seemed like a campaign to 'stampede' the Catholic district of Quynh Luu in Nghe An province, where a brief "revolt" against the D.R.V. flared in November, 1956, the International Control Commission reported receiving nearly 1,000 petitions from citizens alleging that their requests for permission to emigrate to the South had been denied. But in the same district not a single petition alleging political reprisals in the form of execution or imprisonment was received.

Although some priests had been arrested during the war on charges of having cooperated with French intelligence, the vast majority of them were apparently released after peace was restored. Even Father Denis Pacquette, one of the strongest foes of the D.R.V. among the French priests in Vietnam, admitted in an article published in the pro-Diem *Times of Vietnam Magazine* in March, 1960, that during the period of the mass exodus, only three or four priests remained in prison in all of North Vietnam. He also acknowledged that in the same period, "Priests were allowed to teach catechism, to open Catholic schools and to move freely." Except for its efforts to impede the massive exodus of Catholics, D.R.V. policy was in fact more liberal toward the church than at any time since the resistance had began.

Nixon's effort to portray the Catholics as fleeing from a "bloodbath" during the land reform program, moreover, runs up against the simple fact that very few Catholic villages were affected by the land reform before the refugee movement was completed. By the end of January, 1955, some 742,000 refugees had already left the North—approximately 85 percent of the ultimate total. But the D.R.V.'s reports on the land reform indicate that only 53 Catholic villages had been visited by land reform teams by that time. Certainly none of the refugees from Phat Diem-Bui Chu who contributed more than one-third of the total, had witnessed land reform, since the program did not begin in that area until well after the refugee movement had ended.

It is ironic that Nixon should cite the former Bishop of Bui, Chu, Pham Ngoc Chi, as the source for his charge that half a million people died in "slave labor camps" during the land reform. For Bishop Chi, as already pointed out, had left the North even before the Viet Minh had occupied the Bui Chu diocese. He was not an eyewitness to the land reform, nor could he have acquired accurate information about it, given the absence of communication between the two zones after May, 1955. Moreover it was Bishop Chi who was the chief coordinator of Diem's campaign to persuade members of the Catholic hierarchy to emigrate to the South. (He succeeded in convincing four out of six Vietnamese Bishops to leave.)

The Nixon Administration's campaign to portray a "bloodbath" of Catholics is based on the most abysmal official ignorance of actual Vietnamese Communist policies toward the Catholic Church. For a study of official documents reveals that both the D.R.V. government and the Lao Dong Party are fundamentally committed to freedom of worship not only for the present but for the indefinite future. Moreover, the D.R.V. has persistently and openly criticized party members who have been less than enthusiastic about this guarantee of religious freedom.

In a December, 1961 article in the party's theoretical journal *Hoc Tap*, which is studied carefully each month by party cadres, Pham Quang Hieu wrote, "The concept that 'Communists follow materialism, therefore they cannot respect freedom of belief' is completely false. Our party has never demanded and never will demand that true socialists must also be absolute materialists and atheists." In a socialist system, he declared, "whether one is a follower of this or that religion or no religion at all is the free right of each person."

The article went on to criticize cadres who still did not understand the party's policy and believed that freedom of belief "only aims at stabilizing the present situation and will not be required later on." The party had the responsibility to "help the masses understand scientific materialism," he concluded, but not to "force them to follow it."

The D.R.V. has long since learned that arguing with Catholics about their beliefs brings only negative results. As Vu Lac wrote in a January 1963 *Hoc Tap* article, "Let us stop arguing coarsely over the existence of God and make an abundant and civilized life for the people." He pointed out that the "model cooperatives" in Catholic areas "are not in places where the party 'declared war' most vehemently with gods but where our communist comrades took care of the people's livelihood and seriously implemented Party directives on freedom of worship."

As recently as 1970, Pham Quang Hieu referred in *Hoc Tap* to the problem of "narrow prejudices against religious believers" among some party

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cadres. But despite this residue of historical antipathy toward the Catholic minority, the D.R.V's determination to respect freedom of worship has not weakened. One of the major accomplishments of the Vietnamese Communist movement has been to establish a more unified society out of the socio-economic, religious and ethnic cleavages inherited from French colonialism. In the process, it has tried to bring the Catholic population back into the national community after many generations of alienation from it without suppressing the religious beliefs which make it so distinct.

The process has been slow and difficult. The Catholic Church, long accustomed to preeminent economic and political power within the "peasant Christendoms," has lost all of its secular influence to party and state, and is no longer a significant landowner as it was under the colonial regime. Two Catholic priests from the North who attended an international conference in Paris last year told an American priest, Father Harry Bury, that some bishops in the North, still unreconciled to living under a socialist regime, continue to hope for "liberation" by Vietnamese anti-Communists and American force. But the American bombardment of hundreds of Catholic churches and schools, which is said to have killed at least five priests, including the Bishop of Vinh, has done much to unite ordinary Catholic citizens with their government.

The determination of Communist leaders to respect freedom of worship in the North has also been reflected in the policy of the National Liberation Front in the South. Reliable evidence of this policy comes from a secret interzone directive setting N.L.F. policy for the occupation of newly liberated areas, written in Binh Dinh province in May 1966 and later captured by U.S. forces. The document states, "Religion shall continue to function, in accordance with the Front's policy of freedom of religion" and warns that "revolutionary law" will "severely punish" anyone who attempts to "harm, threaten, or seriously interfere with the regular activities of churches. . . ." This has been the N.L.F.'s policy, moreover, in those areas which it has since occupied, including Hue during the 1968 Tet Offensive. U.S. Information Agency writer Douglas Pike's charge that Communist cadres in Hue conducted a purge or liquidation of Catholics has been contradicted by a number of interviews with priests in Hue conducted by Western writers.

Both the historical record of the period following the Geneva Agreement of 1954 and present Communist policies make it clear that the postwar objective of the D.R.V. and N.L.F. will be reconciliation and national unity rather than reprisals or repression of Catholics. Progressive Catholics in the South, many of them refugees from the North in 1954, have long accepted the need for such reconciliation. And in the end, the hierarchy of the church itself will certainly accept it. For, as the Archbishop of Saigon, Nguyen Van Binh, told Father Bury in June, 1971, "As a Catholic Church, we can live under any regime."

BOOKS

The England that the tourists do not know

City Close-Up

JEREMY SEABROOK

Bobbs-Merrill, $7.95

WILLIAM LANOUETTE

Tourists don't visit Blackburn. It has no cathedral or stately homes or 10p-to-enter birthplaces of famous Englishmen. There are no distinguished boarding schools, no universities, no medieval castles, no drama festivals.

There are only people.

If visitors to this aging Lancashire mill town were to look at these people with the same attention to detail that tourists usually lavish on Norman arches or Victorian bric-a-brac, they could discover an aspect of England that few are willing to see. For in Blackburn there survives a community of the hapless victims, brave and benighted, whose labor and lives made possible much of England's past splendor. Blackburn and its people are the remnants of industrial society, and a living reminder of the inequitable class system. Elsewhere on this island that system may have achieved some of the most distinguished accomplishments in Western civilization, but here it left a community of souls in dehumanized disarray.

Jeremy Seabrook, an English social worker and free-lance writer, has detoured from his country's usual tourist tracks to visit Blackburn. He spent two months in this squalid city, seeking to discover and understand its personal and social fabric. The result of his vigil, *City Close-Up,* is a sensitive and powerful portrait of the place, and a memoir of its brief life and slow death.

Any romantic views you may hold of England will be shattered quickly by this book. But in place of such conceptions, you can discover the evidence of a nation and a people far worthier of both praise and pity than are usually portrayed by either romanticism or realism.

Blackburn's people speak directly to you, in fumbling monologues and spir-

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ited repartee, as captured by Mr. Seabrook's tape recorder and transcribed into chapters that focus on individuals. There is Edward Poynton, the city's 70-year-old historian, who recalls how the Blackburn of his childhood

> was more or less dominated by factory chimneys. It was known as the greatest cotton-weaving centre in the whole world. And when you realize that there was 200 factory chimneys all belching forth smoke every morning at five o'clock you'll understand that the atmosphere was pretty well polluted. There was a dawn chorus of clogs that started about five o'clock. And they were preceded by the knockers-up, who used to go round with a great long pole with wire on top of it, and they used to rattle at the bedroom windows with this wire to rouse people up.

There is Evelyn Watson, the social worker, explaining that

> the spinner was always looked upon as a very skilled person compared to the weaver. They earned more. And, of course there was all this intermarriage, I mean, weaver married weaver, and to get out of that . . . Well, if anybody married out of their sphere, somebody a little better, it was a matter of talk, it was a great feat.

There are the four apprentice mechanics, sitting in the Liberal Studies Room of the local technical college, talking about the Royal Family:

> They're a good image for the country. Wherever they go, people flock to see them, don't they? It's not a dictated country, is it?
>
> No, but all that money they've got, the crown jewels, we could have it in the country, couldn't we? Why leave it rotting in the vaults? She came to Mullard's once. They had to build special bogs for her. Just in case she used 'em.
>
> That's not her fault, though.
>
> Charles is all right. Nowt wrong with him. Bit of a ponce.
>
> Well, he's bound to be a bit stuck up, isn't he, being leader of the country. I bet he's no different from any other person. I mean, he gets pissed up at weekends.

There are the lorry driver, hairdresser, undertaker, and school teacher talking about "permissiveness" and "religion" in the men's lounge of the local Conservative Club. And immigrants complaining about how disrespectful English children are to their parents. And Lois and Teresa, good-natured and randy, sipping beer and swapping double-entendres in the Entertainments Room of their favorite pub. And there are many, many more.

While most of the people interviewed in this book speak of problems and amusements peculiar to urban England, a few echo concerns that are becoming common to all industrial societies: race, religion, personal fulfillment, social and political alienation. In one such echo, the chorus of complaints that Mrs. Frost and her neighbors make about the "coloureds" seems painfully reminiscent of the chatter that surrounds much of the current controversy about "busing" in America.

> Color doesn't come into this. The only trouble is hygiene. Definitely hygiene . . . They're coming living next door to me, and if they're clean people, they will be good neighbors. But if they're dirty people, woe betide them.

Perhaps the saddest irony the book illustrates is the unrecognized similarity in thinking between the old inhabitants and the new immigrants. The very things that the townspeople object to in the immigrants, Mr. Seabrook notes, are precisely those aspects of the old, communal, working-class life that they used to value: the sense of community; the system of mutual help; the sense of duty of kinsfolk; and the extended family structure.

Rounding out the bursts of monologue and mayhem, Mr. Seabrook adds his own details and sociological interpretations. Occasionally his theoretical speculation sounds a bit pompous ("Colin and Kevin exemplify a well-defined tendency, especially among the young, towards a recrudescence of irrational and mystical beliefs, often grafted onto a much attenuated and vestigial Christianity"), and at times it seemed that he could have done more to integrate the spoken thoughts of Blackburn's people with his rich and varied details of their history and surroundings. But these are minor complaints about a book that is lively, forceful, and timely.

Tourists will probably continue to bypass Blackburn, just as there are no processions to Wigan Pier. But those who read this book may begin to see the rest of England, and its people, in a new, understanding way.

Right To Challenge: People and Power in the Steelworkers Union

JOHN HERLING

Harper & Row, $12.50

JOHN C. CORT

I had just finished reading John Hering's excellent story of how I.W. Abel wrested control of the United Steelworkers from David McDonald and I was wondering what I would write about it. I was watching the Democrats in the process of nominating a fine candidate for President by the name of George McGovern. Suddenly there was Abel himself on the tube, every bit as whitehaired as his old rival, pink-cheeked and earnest, seconding the nomination of Senator Jackson and throwing in a few nasty innuendos about McGovern.

I thought to myself, "What has happened to the labor movement, John (that's what I call myself) since you worked in it ten, twenty, thirty years ago? Here's a pretty decent labor leader, once a friend and ally of Walter Reuther, not only seconding the nomination of a hopeless hawk like Jackson, but trying to put the shiv into our peerless leader. What goes on here? Has the whole damned labor movement, once the home of heroes and prophets, become encrusted over with this kind of thick-skinned, thick-headed insensitivity to what is happening in the world, what is happening out beyond those oak-paneled offices in Washington and Pitts-

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burgh, what is happening out beyond the blast furnaces, even, of Homestead and Gary?"

That's what I thought to myself and I must say that I had no ready answer for myself, except that there is always Cesar Chavez and the Farm Workers. The Communications Workers, the Amalgamated Cothing Workers and the Meatcutters have endorsed McGovern. And there will be others, we hope. But mostly it has to be that the trade unions, which started out in life as the embodiment of Anti-Establishment, have become more and more identified with the Establishment and now, for too many, it's just a question of "Give us our cut, Mr. Boss Man, and we will roll over and do whatever you say."

But this is no fault of John Herling. As a matter of fact, his book is a convincing piece of evidence as to how American labor got that way and how an excess of power corrupts. The Steelworkers Union, now a giant of 1,200,000 members was organized by men who came out of the United Mine Workers in the later 30s when John L. Lewis was setting the nation on its ear and the CIO on its feet.

John L. was a heroic figure in those days, but before and after those days he ruled the UMW with an iron fist unfettered by velvet glove. You just didn't run against John L. and if, like John Brophy, you were so foolish as to try, you were even more foolish to expect an honest count. Be grateful you escaped with your life. A sweet guy like Phil Murray brought a kind of basic humanity to the Steelworkers, but after his death the man he raised from a pup, David McDonald, slipped into a more sophisticated version of the old style of doing things.

If I have any quarrel with Herling it is that he does not appreciate the tragic dimensions of McDonald's personality. He almost turns him into a caricature. I remember back in the 30s hearing McDonald speak at a union Communion breakfast in New York. He was the golden boy of labor then, handsome as a movie star, bright, eloquent, full of sweet reason.

But that was before power and alcohol had taken their dues, and long before Honest Abe Abel had proven that in A.D. 1965 with the help, let's face it, of federal procedures set up under the hated Taft-Hartley Act, you could win an election against an incumbent international president. Of course it helped if you happened to be an international secretary-treasurer yourself with a majority of the union's executive board behind you.

Not too many unionists who challenge incumbents are that lucky. I kept thinking, "Herling has told this story and told it well, and it's a story worth telling, but who will ever tell the story of the thousands of little guys who ran against business agents in little local unions all over the country, guys who for their pains got beat up, shot, or if they lived to election day, were robbed of a fair count and thrown out of the union and out of their jobs?"

Those are the things that produced Taft-Hartley. You do finish the book

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with a feeling that things are improving, that just as the unions brought a form of democracy to the industrial process, so democracy is repaying the debt by bringing the beginnings of fair elections to the unions. The idea is slowly spreading that it is no longer high treason for a union member to oppose an incumbent officer for election. Maybe the day will come when it is accepted practice that unions have a two-party system, just like the Typographical Union and the U.S.A. You even get the sneaky feeling that the federal government should do even more to insure that such elections are, in fact, fair.

All of which just goes to show how much some of us have changed over the years. But thanks to John Herling, who has shown how one particular union changed over the years, for the better. Never mind what Abel said at the Democratic Convention. McGovern will confound him and all the world besides.

The Jesus People: Old-Time Religion in the Age of Aquarius

RONALD ENROTH, EDWARD E. ERICSON, C. BRECKENRIDGE PETERS

Eerdmans, $5.95 (cloth) $2.95 (paper)

DAVID L. WARREN

The Jesus People are a phenomenon which could have been predicted, given the collapse of every major cultural and political experiment in America in the last decade. Consider the setbacks suffered by the Movement in recent years: the black and white civil rights coalition fell with Martin Luther King in Memphis; the bullet of Sirhan Sirhan laid to rest that one candidate who might have brought us together in 1968; and the spectrum of anti-war strategies ended in a debacle of militant resistance (the bombing deaths at University of Wisconsin), the mass killing of innocent students (Kent State and Jackson State), and the fraudulent government charges of conspiracy against a band of priests, nuns and scholars (the Harrisburg Seven). Attempts to organize individuals and groups around the love ethic (Haight Ashbury), a program of "power to the people" (the Panthers) and Ecology Action have also ended in rubble. The Movement has become entangled in the death-shroud which hangs over this country.

For many who have traveled the long road from Selma to Saigon, there now seems no *human* solution to the disaster that is America. Hope has been overwhelmed by frustration and fear. Enter the Jesus People. They are an idea whose time is now, precisely because they emerge after a decade of Movement failure. The magic of the Jesus People is that they offer a full-blown ideology wrapped in Holy Writ.

The Jesus People proclaim an absolute solution. They promise the drug-spaced, war-weary drop-out a program which transcends all human invention. What is being guaranteed here, through God's good offices, is an explanation of all history, an analysis of the present crisis and a prophecy of personal salvation for the future.

Beneath the Jesus People Movement rests the belief in imminent apocalypse. The end of the world is at hand, we are told. Repent and be saved. For many who have lost their every battle in the last ten years, the Jesus People begin to come on like the last best hope. They play on the guilt generated by failure, on the fear that all human attempts at amelioration are for naught. For a growing number, the Jesus People represent the last desperate reach for a shred of joy.

The Jesus People: Old Time Religion in the Age of Aquarius, by Messrs. Ronald Enroth, Edward E. Ericson and C. Breckinridge Peters arrives at a time when both established and underground media have so mystified the Jesus Movment as to render it surreal. With detail and candor the authors map out the diverse terrain occupied by the People. We owe them a genuine debt for their careful but engaging scholarship on this tangled issue.

The conclusion reached by the authors is that the People are not a regularized army, but rather a heterogeneous collection of sects. In fact it is clear

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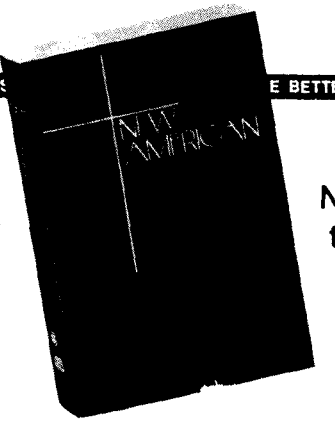
that these sects go to great and bitter lengths to distinguish themselves from one another. One is reminded here of the doctrinal disputes which fractured the church during the Great Awakening. Yet in spite of their protestations, certain common denominators are shared by these groups: 1) a basic appeal to fear generated by the Old Testament God of wrath; 2) a belief in the Second Coming and the imminent Apocalypse; 3) a desire and ability to manifest charismatic gifts; 4) a transformation of identity through structured communal existence; and 5) a rejection of any secular political solution to war, racism, the environmental crisis etc.

From a theological standpoint the People see Man as the unregenerate Adam, who has betrayed his Holy Maker, turned against his brother and violated the Eden Earth. This Movement, it is clear, has a remarkably low Doctrine of Man. The individual's only hope for salvation is a total surrender to the One who died for our sins on the cross. No half-way covenant of good deeds will be accepted. Absolute and unconditional commitment to the Lord is required.

It is this all-or-nothing proposition which holds a special appeal for those who wish to give their lives completely to some idea or cause. The Jesus commune is the instrument by which conversion to The Cause is made complete for the most radical sects. The commune's task is nothing less than to strip the newly baptized of all former identity. Previous ties with families, jobs, education and the institutional church are severed. One is required to submit to a daily regimen of Scripture, ritual and work, all of which is determined by an Elder. Discipline is strict and the authority of the Elder goes unquestioned.

According to the authors, the results of this process are marked. The People, especially the Children of God, display an unremitting hostility toward conventional thought, behavior or institutions. Their actions tend to become rigid, bigoted and cultish, accompanied by a sense of group paranoia. As their thoughts grow more simplistic and inbred, the sense of political isolation increases. And all the while, they are unswerving in their work and dedication to the Lord.

I have only one reservation on this otherwise insightful book. It is a word of caution to the reader to take quite seriously the authors' own admission that they are "evangelical Protestants who accept orthodox doctrines and rational apologetics." Where these men score the Jesus People the hardest is precisely the Movement's failure to be orthodox and rational. The writers reflect a skepticism of the function of the People's charismastic gifts and a suspicion about the motives of the Elders. They look and do not find enough "balance, maturity and sophistication," which are the very middle-class qualities the People reject. From the People's point of view, extremism in the pursuit of salvation is a virtue, and moderation in the attack on infidelity is a vice. I think we have been on this road before.



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The central problem raised by the *Jesus People* is essentially one of radical discipleship: can one believe that Jesus Christ is Lord without the full commitment to follow him, even if that commitment puts oneself in opposition to the culture and leads ultimately to the Cross? The People claim that there is "Only One Way" and the American Church must come to terms with that challenge.

The Germans

ADOLPH SCHALK

Prentice-Hall, $10

GEORGE N. SHUSTER

Germany is very interesting to write and read about, as a truly enormous amount of literature attests. Schalk spent five years of hard journalistic work gathering materials for his book and maybe he has something rather different and special to offer. He considers a vast number of subjects and some of the interviews he records are illuminating as well as beguiling. There is one having to do with a veteran Krupp worker which is worth the price of the book. To be sure, the most tenacious foe of such a presentation is the passing of time. Treating the political and economic situation runs the risk of reading like a press release brochure in any case, but the moment your book goes to press the situation has already changed, as witness the dismissal of economist Professor Schiller from the Brandt Cabinet, or the new role of the German courts.

But a book can, if it is well written, capture its moment in time with a fair amount of success. No harm is done if a writer evokes wrath in terms of taste and judgment. Bismarck was to be sure the only German of the post-1870 era who commands genuine respect and perhaps Unter den Linden as it used to be was as reputable a tribute to him (though he had to share the honor with some far from first-rate Emperors) as the French erected in honor of Napoleon. And Bismarck was a far nicer guy than Napoleon.

Since this has to be a brief review I shall devote the rest of it to the question of Catholic resistance to Hitler, which is raised by Schalk rather combatively. He says that Protestants have done a much better job than have Catholics about anti-Semitism. In what follows I do not wish to impugn the Confessional Church and its heritage, but I believe the Catholic record is not as bad as all that.

The last free elections held in Germany prior to Hitler witnessed a great and even heroic success by the Center Party which incidentally nominated a Jewish citizen for membership in its Reichstag delegation, and meanwhile Herr Hugenberg, the head of a party of Protestant Conservatives, not only secured Hitler's triumph but lured conservative Catholics like Franz von Papen into his group, and deluded some bishops and members of religious orders. These are they who made possible, and indeed inevitable, the Nazi victory.

I shall merely glance at some of the data which await serious study. The Bavarian Catholic Academy has done yeoman historical service by editing and publishing documentation of the greatest significance. But there is nowhere in Schalk's book a reference to it. He pays a fine tribute to Count von Galen who as Archbishop (later Cardinal) of Muenster protested against the mass murder of retarded children, but he does not indicate that it was the Muenster clergy who paid the price. Everyone who doubts this should look at the Dachau graveyard. And I may add that Benedicta Maria Kempmer has published a quite appalling martyrology. But few bother to read this and

The Politics of Gullibility

CONSIDER, first the case of the Vietnam war, which has been largely responsible for the general collapse of faith in the veracity and morality of government. . . . Almost all of the deception and ignorance about it in earlier stages can be laid to public self-deception. Official attempts at deception were crude, easy in principle to penetrate, and were in fact quite adequately penetrated by the media. It was not for lack of raw data that the nature of the war was misunderstood in the earlier stages. But even as an increasing proportion of the U.S. population began to understand and resist the war, they learned that exposure and resistance were powerless to deflect official policy. This is a lesson which must never be forgotten. . . .

Without functioning means for citizenry control of government actions, public knowledge merely leads to furious mass feelings of impotence which are likely to ruin the chances for functional reactions a lot faster than they damage official power. Public knowledge is a *tool* for regaining public control of government; it is not a substitute for power. . . .

—*Thomas M. Conrad,* Commonweal, *October 1, 1971*

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REVIEWERS

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GEORGE N. SHUSTER, assistant to the president of Notre Dame University, was a postwar Land Commissioner of Bavaria.

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it has not been translated. I wish somebody would make that possible. The most damning part of the rebuttal, however, is the fact that the Nazis, Hitler and Himmler of course, planned to destroy Catholicism after they had obliterated the Jews at Auschwitz and victory had been gained. These plans can be documented if the requisite care is taken. I do not understand why the diabolical firm of H and H should have wanted to do this unless it considered the Catholic Church a formidable enemy.

Let me add that the four principal periodicals in the anti-Nazi resistance abroad were edited by Catholics. I have discovered no others except one or two published by Jewish intellectuals. Then of course there is Hochhuth who obtained his documentation from a Monsignor who wanted to throw stinkbombs at Pius XII. Some time perhaps young American historians (and I hope journalists) will dig into all of this.

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(Signed) Edward S. Skillin
Publisher

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 27*)

relationship between the central nervous, circulatory, and respiratory systems.

ANDRE E. HELLEGERS, M.D.
Georgetown University

REPLY: Nowhere in my article do I argue that any human life is valueless. My point is that human persons may be endowed with more moral dominion over death than has heretofore been generally recognized. Furthermore, if Dr. Hellegers is saying that one should not confuse the medical detection of death with the moral question of the freedom to die, then his point is obvious and I agree. However, to distinguish the medical from the moral is not to separate them. Medical developments can and do present moral questions, especially in such matters as the determination of death and the prolongation of life. In the words of the Report by the Task Force on Death and Dying of the Institute of Society, Ethics, and the Life Sciences, the growing powers of medicine present "new and difficult problems, including some which are not only medical but also fundamentally moral and political." (cf. "Refinements in Criteria for the Determination of Death: An Appraisal", Journal of the American Medical Association, July 3, 1972, p. 48)

DANIEL C. MAGUIRE

Athens, Ohio

To the Editors: I have read with interest Daniel Maguire's "The Freedom to Die" [Aug. 11]. While it raised several important questions, it seemed to me also to illustrate another form of death—verbal abstractionism. When Mr. Maguire asserts that the gravely ill might work "creatively with politicians, national health organizations, medical and legal societies, news media, etc." and form a "lobby of the dying," I wondered: has the author of this suggestion ever been gravely ill? Or when Mr. Maguire, discussing the decision to terminate life, says that "the patient must consider also his cultural and legal context, the mind-set of insurance companies (WOW!), and the ability of others to cope with the voluntary aspects of death." Might not the dying person also want to consider something a little less publicly "relevant," like the state of his soul? I recall and recommend the wisdom of Dr. Thomas More, the psychiatrist-hero of Walker Percy's *Love in the Ruins*. His cure for clients suffering from abstractionism was a two-week stay in the terminal ward of a hospital.

JOHN F. DESMOND

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Father Kennedy, of course, is the best selling author/psychologist whose books, articles and lectures have become for thousands of Catholics a source of inspiration and of sanity in a troubled world. His rare gift for understanding and communication has enabled him to reach out to contemporary Christians, to support and encourage their struggle for personal and spiritual fulfillment. He is the author of, among other best-selling books, *A Time for Love*, *What a Modern Catholic Believes About Marriage*, *The New Sexuality*. He is professor of psychology at Loyola University and directed the definitive psychological study of American priests. $8.95

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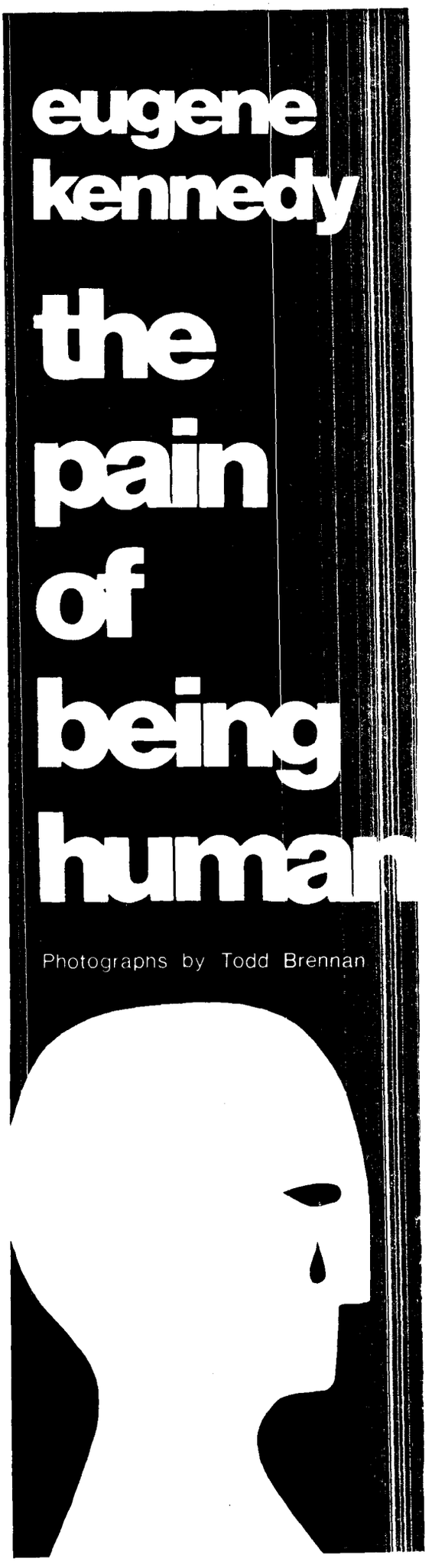

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